4: Mersadier U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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The Structure of Familial Budgets in Thiès
/Sructure de budgets familiaux à Thiès/

by Yvon Mersadier

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/Title page/

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369 The city of Thiès, 60 kilometers east of Dakar, contains
433 36,000 inhabitants, according to a recent census. All of its
[162] activity seems to be centered around four principal poles: commercial, industrial, administrative, and military.

Its commercial activity is due to its position at the cross-
[487] roads of important paths of communication: railroad lines from Dakar to Saint-Louis, from Dakar to Bamako, and from Thiès to Kaolack, and roads from Dakar to Saint-Louis and from Dakar to Diourbel, Tambacounda, and the Sudan and Guinea.

It also owes the essential part of its industrial activity to
[498] this implantation at an important rail crossroads; the repair
[464] shops of the Dakar-Niger rail system, where nearly 1,000 workers of all grades are employed, have been set up there.

Apart from the workshops of the Dakar-Niger, it must not
[497] be forgotten that Thiès is also where the management of this
[634] system resides. And it is also the principal administrative point of a circle /cercle, an administrative district/. We will thus find, besides the workers, a rather large proportion of office employees, managers, and executives.

[712] Finally, the military function of Thiès is due to the presence of two important camps: the "DMA" (Détachement Motorisé Autonome), and an air base.

Besides these four centers of activities which give this city a modern character (economically speaking, at least), a fifth
[166] one intervenes in a not inconsiderable proportion. A rather large
[241] population of cultivators, who in winter cultivate groundnuts and millet in nearby fields, has settled on the periphery of Thiès. And the city is the point to which, at the time of the groundnut trade, all of the agricultural activity of the circle comes to assert itself. Its commercial importance is thereby further increased.

162 /389/ Here is some numerical information concerning
463 the occupational distribution of the population of Thiès.

Out of an economically active population of 11,040 inhabitants at the date of the census, there were counted:

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11.6%	in the primary sector,	
	of whom: agriculturalists	10.9%
44.5%	in the secondary sector,	
	of whom: unskilled workers	0.7%
	skilled workers in construction	10%
	skilled modern workers	14.6%
	staffs and supervisors	1.1%
41.9%	in the tertiary sector,	
	of whom: domestics	2.7%
	commerce, transport and repair	11.4%
	sweepers, orderlies, porters	1.6%
	unskilled office employees	3.3%
	skilled office employees	1.8%
	highly skilled office employees and administrative staffs	1.1%
	public force	16.4% (1)

[113]

1. This information is taken from the publication drawn up by the Service de la statistique générale du Haut Commissariat de l'A. O. F., "Commune mixte de Thiès.

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[113]

Recensement 1953 /The mixed commune of Thiès. 1953 Census/," Dakar, 1954. We have only converted into percentages the figures given on pp. 25 ff. of this pamphlet.

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By its very diversity, this population thus constitutes an excellent field of study and experiment for the sociologist and the economist.

A socio-demographic inquiry by questionnaire was made previously, in November and December 1953. The sample chosen contained 900 heads of families questioned (2). We

2. The results of this inquiry, which was supervised by Dr. Massé, will be published in the next issue of this Bulletin.

wished to complete it partially by studying some family budgets in a very limited number, 46, three of which proved to be useless.

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Under no pretext should any general value be given to the results that are going to be presented. The trends shown will have to be confirmed by other, more extensive inquiries, in conformity with the resolution adopted in 1926 by the Third Conference of the Statisticiens du travail, which specified: "it is better to give up certain details which the inquiry might reveal than to reduce the number of families studied."

/390/ We have almost systematically taken a course opposite to this recommendation, because the information now available on the daily life of the Africans in the cities of Senegal (and in French West Africa in its totality) is still too insufficient for one to be able to undertake broader inquiries. On the other hand, and this was a major obstacle, we did not have at our disposal sufficient means to study a larger number of families. This has saved us from the temptation of looking too far; daily African life is at this point complex, particularly in its economic aspect, so that in certain respects the work accomplished and the documents

/390 cont./

114 collected seemed to us later to lack precision.

125 The method that we have used is simple. For the seven African investigators (each concerning himself with six or seven families) and for the director of the investigation, it was primarily a matter of being present as often as possible and as long as possible with each family and of noting in a notebook devised for this use all of the financial activities of the family each day during a month of 31 days (1)

1. For detailed information on the method followed for this investigation, cf. Y. Mersadier, "Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine /An attempt to investigate the living standard of an urban population/" [communication at the conference of experts on the social consequences of industrialization and the urban problems in Africa, Abidjan, September 1954].

[511] (the month of March 1954). We obtained quite accurate data on the "routine" expenses of the month, principally food, fuel, illumination, and maintenance, and basic elements for the calculation of other categories of expenses, clothing, material, equipment, various familial expenses, religious expenses, etc., which we wanted to estimate for the period of a year. But here we had to rely in part on the statements of the persons investigated. Nevertheless the almost continual presence of the investigator with the families for a month permitted him, in several questionings and by rechecking, to arrive at figures which we believe are quite close to reality.

125 434 The real income was often quite difficult to estimate. In principle there should have been no difficulties in the case of salaried workers, who willingly show their pay receipt. For the

/390 cont./

125 434 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 434 462 But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents [536] [565] of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 434 592 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104] [594]

1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/391 cont./

125 life of the unit of consumption and, on the other hand, part
434 company with it for other activities.
592 The clearest case is that of the boarder who takes his
[437] meals in the unit of consumption and pays the cost of these meals. Though simple, it is exceptional, as is the extreme case where all the incomes are put together. Between the two, there are many possible situations. For each unit of consumption we have therefore set apart, from among all the incomes received by its members, that which is available to the head of the family to support his restricted family and to fulfill his obligations with regard to the other members of the unit of consumption who are not part of the restricted family.

125 /392/ However limited our sample may be, we have
*511 tried all the same to make it representative of the structure of the population of Thiès, as much from the standpoint of the ethnic group of the unit of consumption as from those of occupational group, income, and number of persons. Therefore, the selection of 45 families (the figure initially anticipated) suitable for us and agreeing to submit to the investigation was diffcult (1). The 43 units of consumption which are of concern

1. In this selection of families, our task was greatly facilitated by the syndical organization , the religious authorities, and the heads of quarters.

125 here are distributed as follows.
592 From the standpoint of income:
434 13 between 5,000 and 10,000 francs per month,
*511 9 between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per month,
5 between 15,000 and 20,000 francs per month,
8 between 20,000 and 30,000 francs per month,
8 above 30,000 francs per month, with one of 81,000 francs.

/392 cont./

125 From the standpoint of occupational distribution:
463 5 cultivators.
*511 8 laborers (one specialist).
3 orderlies.
3 "unskilled" office employees.
2 "skilled office employees.
1 "highly skilled" office employée.
6 "unskilled" workers.
4 "skilled" workers.
2 workers having functions of authority.
1 police sergeant.
4 artisans.
1 truck-gardener.
1 private accountant.
1 teacher.
1 African doctor.

125 /393/ From the standpoint of ethnic group (1):
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*511 1. According to the census of 1953, the distribution of the population of Thiès by principal ethnic groups is as follows:

Wolof	65.5%	Peul	3%
Toucouleur	9.3%	Sarakolé	1.8%
Bambara	6.8%	Moors	2.4%
Sérère	5.1%	Others	6.1%

26 Wolof.
4 Bambara.
3 Sarakolé.
3 Peul.
3 Toucouleur /Tukolor/.
2 Sérère /Serer/.
2 Moors.

/393 cont./

125 Finally, according to the number of persons making up
592 the unit of consumption:
*511

5 of less than 5 persons,
18 of 5 to 9 persons,
12 of 10 to 14 persons,
5 of 15 to 19 persons,
3 of 20 persons and more.

[434] On all of these points the distribution is nearly normal. Only the group with incomes of 15,000 to 20,000 francs is somewhat scantily represented, the average of the lower group being perhaps, on the contrary, somewhat too high.

125 But this apparent balance presents a problem; every
*511 family, or nearly every one, has its own characteristics, and there are no two that are strictly comparable. This is why, in order to facilitate an understanding of certain points concerning the consumption of food commodities, we have had recourse to a device that is a little risky; from the standards utilized for the calculation of theoretical food requirements by the Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, we have used for men, for women, and for children, according to their age category, a coefficient:

1 for men
0.8 for the women,
0.5 for children from 2 to 6 years old,
0.7 for children from 7 to 12 years old,
0.8 for children from 13 to 20 years old.

/394/ By addition, we have obtained a theoretical composition of the unit of consumption in men alone. We can then calculate the consumption of this theoretical man. Nursing children have been included in the category of 2 to 5 years old, but we have allowed the coefficient of 0.8 for nursing women. This compensates for that.

*511 Table I[1] gives the composition of the unit of consumption
592 in men, women, and children, and in the last column its com-
594 position in "man units." The column preceding the one for the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 11-12. - ANALYST]

/394 cont./

*511 592 594 unit of consumption (U. C.) contains a figure indicating how many persons make up the restricted family constituting the nucleus of each unit of consumption.

There is absolute correspondence in only 5 cases: Nos. 6, 9, 26, 34, and 42.

[595] Family No. 6 contains, besides the head of the family, a mattress-maker, and his two wives, two daughters that he had by his first wife, one by his second wife, and one by a third, deceased wife.

The baker, head of family No. 9, has only one wife. But she previously had two children before this marriage, a girl and a boy. Both of them live with the head of the family. The daughter, previously married, then divorced, has with her a child six years old. Finally, there is a child of the two spouses.

With No. 26 we truly find a family of Western type: a man, his wife, and their only child. The head of the family is 28 years old, just like that of family No. 34, which likewise includes a man, his wife, and two children. It is true that this young clerk of the P. T. T. has married a second wife, who lives in Dakar.

[595] Finally, in family No. 42, the head of the family, who has two wives, lives alone with them and their eight children, of whom one is already grown-up.

Aside from these four families, all of the units of consumption contain one or several external elements with or without kin ties with the familial nucleus.

*511 592 This almost general "parasitism" (1) is more important in

1. The word is customary. We put it between quotation marks in order to indicate to what degree it is inadequate. It is wrong primarily because of being pejorative, since it designates a traditional phenomenon.

/394 cont./
*511 592 the units of consumption with high incomes, for example, in families 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. But its financial consequences will be more oppressive in the others /395/
/Table I appears here./

*511 434 /396/ Table II[1] lists, along with the ethnic group and the occupation of the head of the unit of consumption, the incomes in increasing order and the routine expenses verified during the month of the investigation. The small incomes, up to 10,000 francs, are essentially those of the laborers, orderlies, and two very petty artisans, a mattress-maker and a baker. We also find (No. 11) an auxiliary (1) worker of the

[104] [463]

1. The name "auxiliary" D. N. serves here to designate unskilled workers. It was borrowed from administrative terminology (used by the Dakar-Niger, "D. N.").

Dakar-Niger, whose low income is explained by the fact that he is just starting in his occupation.

The cultivator whose income we have estimated at 8,150 francs actually cultivates very few fields. His family lives by means of very small-scale commerce practiced separately by the head of the family, his two wives, and his two sisters, all very old.

The incomes from 10,000 to 15,000 francs per month are those of the office employees and the unskilled workers (in the case of the laborer No. 15 there are actually two incomes which are combined). Two cultivators open the series starting at 15,000 and then we find successively the workers and skilled employees, a large-scale cultivator, and, in the category of large incomes, besides a truck-gardener and a jeweler, a representative of the liberal professions, our teachers and our doctor, the managerial workers and employees. No.

1 [see cat 116 pp 13+14 - ANALYST]

/395/ Table I

*511
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No.	Income	Restricted Family	U.C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U.C.
1	5,800	7	13	3	3	3	1	3	10
2	6,100	5	10	1	1	3	2	1	5.5
3	6,500	3	4	1	2	0	0	0	2.8
4	6,700	4	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.10
5	6,745	5	7	2	2	1	1	1	5.6
6	7,000	7	7	1	2	3	1	0	4.8
7	7,000	2	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
8	7,410	2	5	2	3	0	0	0	4.4
9	7,500	6	6	1	2	0	2	1	4.4
10	8,150	8	12	2	6	1	1	2	9.6
11	8,950	3	6	1	2	1	2	0	4.5
12	9,000	4	8	3	2	2	1	0	6.3
13	9,800	3	5	2	2	0	0	1	4.4
14	10,000	10	10	3	3	1	2	2	8.9
15	10,000	6	7	2	2	1	2	0	5.5
16	10,675	3	4	1	1	0	2	0	3.2
17	10,800	5	9	1	3	1	2	2	6.9
18	11,000	3	4	2	2	0	0	0	3.6
19	11,950	5	9	4	2	3	0	0	7.1
20	12,000	6	10	3	3	3	1	0	7.6
21	13,000	5	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
22	14,000	8	12	2	5	2	3	0	9.1
23	15,000	14	18	4	4	6	0	4	13.4
24	15,000	17	21	2	5	8	4	2	14.4
25	15,630	7	15	4	5	3	0	3	11.9
26	15,800	4	4	1	1	1	0	0	2.3
27	16,200	10	12	2	3	2	3	2	9.1
28	22,000	16	18	4	4	1	2	7	14.7
29	22,000	4	11	4	3	3	1	0	8.6
30	24,000	5	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.1
31	25,000	10	18	2	3	1	1	11	14.4

/395 Table I cont./

*511
592
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No.	Income	Restricted Family	U.C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U.C.
32	25,000	5	6	2	1	1	1	1	4.8
33	25,000	4	7	1	2	2	1	1	5.1
34	25,900	4	4	2	1	1	0	0	3.3
35	27,000	5	6	1	2	1	1	1	4.6
36	34,000	3	15	4	7	1	0	3	12.5
37	36,000	11	24	7	10	2	2	3	19.8
38	50,000	5	13	5	5	3	0	0	10.5
39	51,000	6	11	1	3	2	4	1	8.0
40	55,000	15	24	4	9	7	4	0	17.5
41	55,000	8	14	2	6	3	3	0	10.4
42	56,000	11	11	2	2	1	3	3	8.6
43	81,000	4	5	2	1	1	1	0	4.0

/396 cont./

*511
[434]

43 also has two incomes (the same as No. 25).

A comparison of the incomes and expenses, up until about the middle of the table, shows an excess of expenses, sometimes not very important, but nevertheless exceeding 1,000 francs in two cases (Nos, 4 and 20). One might view this as the result of an error of estimation, either in the incomes or in the expenses. But it must not be forgotten that only routine expenses are still being dealt with, that is to say, for the small incomes that concern us now, the outlays made for food. It is therefore necessary to add to this figure all of the other expenses which we have calculated for a period of a year (divided by 12, of course). Table III,[1] where we have shown the monthly deficit in absolute value and in percentage of income, shows us what our budgets then become: the highest deficit is 45.2%, the lowest /397/ /Table II appears here/ /398/ 6.4% (1). (This last, strangely enough, is found [illegible] families having the smallest income.

1. We are not counting here the

1[See cat 116, pp 17-18 - ANALYST]

Thies
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Tukolor MS27
Fulani MS11
Soninke MS21
Bambara FA8

/397/

Table II

W
SR
T
F
So
B
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S
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No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	5,839
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	6,726
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	5,383
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	8,251
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	6,772
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	7,471
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	7,231
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	7,234
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	7,842
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	8,133
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	9,067
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	8,952
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	9,981
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	8,092
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	8,501
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	10,013
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	10,892
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	9,816
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	10,860
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	13,557
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	13,799
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	14,405
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	9,182
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	13,809
25	Wolof	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	13,801
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	10,238
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	10,600
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	18,641
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	18,730
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	14,305
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	21,571
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	7,850

Thiès
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/397 cont./ Table II (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	15,706
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	14,715
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	16,654
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	19,829
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	23,680
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	27,397
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	21,240
40	Wolof	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	31,004
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	21,105
42	Bambara	Chief worker, C.D.N.	56,000	24,548
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	34,612

/398 cont./

deficits of Nos. 24, 25, and 26, which are less significant. The slenderness of the deficit of No. 3 can be explained by the limited number of persons that the unit of consumption contains.

in the care of one of the families having the smallest income.)

This deficit is, of course, theoretical. Not having followed these families closely for an entire year, we cannot pretend to present an exact balance-sheet of their budget. It is possible that our percentages would be reduced in the course of a year, or a longer period, either by a reduction in expenses (reduction of consumption, or reduction of the unit of consumption itself) or by the creation of another source of income. The fact remains, however, that they do exist and that they are important.

It will be easy for us to show where they come from. It is almost impossible to explain rationally their persistence and their

/398 cont./

421 near generality. A continual deficit of 20% of the monthly
*511 income soon creates, for an individual or a group of individuals, an enormous liability inconceivable in a society economically organized according to Western standards. To be loaded with debts is a disgrace in Europe. The non-payment of purchases on credit is sanctioned. Most of the heads of families that we investigated did not hide the sums that they owed, whether because of purchases on credit among the merchants or directly as a consequence of borrowing money. To the extent that they remembered them. And, when a debt is paid, it is often because a sum perhaps larger was borrowed a few moments before.

*511 Only the importance of the practice of selling and buying
452 on credit permits the system to endure. About 80% of the Africans of the cities, in Senegal at least, buy what they need on credit. Little more than the daily marketing for the household (vegetables, condiments, fish and meat) is done with cash. Of course, the costs of buying on credit are overly high: 5, 10, 15% depending on the products, up to 50% sometimes (for cloth, for example). And the merchants who consent to
[443] these practices are for the most part resellers at second or third hand; the cash price itself is higher. But they sell sugar by lumps and matches by the unit...

*511 The African salaried worker, when he receives his salary,
421 in practice pays his debts for the month, and begins to go into
452 debt until the end of the following month. In many cases, as is proved by the debts shown, /399/ /Table III appears here/ /400/ the total of this salary is quite inferior to the sums to
[166] be reimbursed. If then a merchant does not consent to any more credit (in general they are patient), it is always possible to go to another one by changing quarter.

*511 The merchant himself does not lose anything; his prices
452 are sufficiently high so that, even though not paid in full, the sums received permit him to make his own purchases. And he always has some customers with higher incomes who pay their

/400 cont./

*511 452 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise, [166 602 592] the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114]

1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 592 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of consumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of [452] emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

4: Mersadier--17 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Thies
SONINKE MS21
FULANI MS11
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
TUKOLOR MS27
BAMBARA FA8

/399/ Table III

So F W Sr T B 426 511 S 426 511*

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Monthly Surplus or Deficit	% in Relation to Income
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	- 1,555	26.8
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	- 1,642	26.9
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	- 416	6.4
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	- 3,034	45.2
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	- 1,237	18.3
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	- 1,471	21.0
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	- 2,231	31.8
8	Wolofo	Orderly	7,410	- 1,124	15.1
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	- 2,967	39.5
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	- 1,641	20.1
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	- 2,168	29.2
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	- 1,593	17.5
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	- 1,614	16.4
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	- 1,354	13.5
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	- 1,621	16.2
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	- 2,206	20.6
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	- 2,306	21.3
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	- 1,758	15.9
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	- 2,418	20.2
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	- 2,582	21.5
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	- 3,579	27.5
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	- 1,488	10.6
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	+ 452	3.0
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	- 426	2.5
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15,630	- 837	5.3
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	- 529	3.3
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	+ 1,567	9.2
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	+ 259	1.1
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	+ 286	1.3
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	+ 2,004	8.3
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	+ 1,079	4.3

Thiès
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/399/ Table III (cont.)

W SR So B 426 511 S 426 511* S *511

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Monthly Surplus or Deficit	% in Relation to Income
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	+ 1,442	5.7
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	+ 1,128	4.5
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	+ 977	3.7
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	+ 2,117	7.8
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	+ 751	2.2
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	+ 1,237	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	+ 2,555	5.1
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	+12,894	25.2
40	Wolof	Staff worker	55,000	+ 2,494	4.5
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	+ 5,599	10.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker C.D.N.	56,000	+ 4,726	8.4
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	+ 847	1.0

/400 cont./ of supporting a second wife in another city on an income that is not very high. Nos. 36 and 43 have a lower percentage of surplus, but here we were able to get quite precise information on the utilization of the /401/ surplus and were able to include these sums in the total expenses.

S 178 *262 [369] [264]

It has become banal to state that the diet of Africans lacks variety. The food habits remain the most deep-rooted, and although one sees imported food products appear more and more among the African families of the cities, it is striking to verify that almost all are merely superimposed on the old ones. The food base, the meals at noon and in the evening, rarely evolves, no matter what the ethnic group, the income, or the

/401 cont./

178 occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
*262 bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
[264 two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
439] millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

*511 With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of
*262
[177]

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

243 Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
311 vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
[435 around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
*[511] truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north. On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
*262 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
177 product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based on millet.

/402 cont./

*262 *511 Table IV[1] shows, in percentages in proportion to the total income, the portion for rice and that for millet. We have shown in the last column the proportion, always in relation to 100, of the quantity of millet to the quantity of rice consumed, in order to eliminate the price differences and to make certain facts more obvious.

Let us state first that all of the families without exception consume rice, although four of them never have millet; these are Nos. 18, 26, 36, and, finally, No. 43. For this last one, we have explained the reason for this. Among the other three, one is a Peul family originally from central Guinea, rice country [167] par excellence, which has simply retained its habits even though its settling in Thiès goes back to the previous generation. The other is a family reduced to three persons who can simply permit themselves such a luxury. The only one that makes itself stand out is thus No. 36, for which one can give no other reason than a concern about originality, which is also manifested, as we shall see below, by the fact that the rice eaten exclusively is never accompanied by meat, but always by fish.

Only 15 families consume a larger quantity of millet than of rice. In order to discover the reasons, let us compare Table IV with Table V.[2] The latter gives us, for rice and millet, the total quantities consumed and the consumption of one of our "theoretical men" for each unit of consumption. It also gives the number of persons which this unit of consumption contains and its theoretical composition in men.

In the case of No. 1, there is an excess of 39.5% in weight of millet over the weight of rice, the purchase of these two commodities utilizing 42.9% of the income. If all of the millet were replaced by rice, on the basis of 32 francs per kilogram, we would reach 57.6%. But the unit of consumption is 13 persons (equivalent to 10 men). Group No. 2 consumes the same quantity of rice, for 10 persons equivalent to 5.5 men; it may be satisfied with 30 kilograms of millet instead of 60, entirely by putting itself on a higher food standard: in one case 4.3 kilograms of rice and 6 kilograms of millet per man per month, in the other 7.9 and 5.4

1 [see cat 116, pp 22-24 - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 25-27 - ANALYST]

/402 cont./
262* kilograms, respectively.
511* The number of consumers, in conjunction with the lowness of the incomes, seems to be determinant here. It always is in the category of the high incomes: No. 37, excess of millet 25%, unit of consumption 24; No. 41, excess of millet 50%, unit of consumption 14. /403/ /Table IV appears here./ /404/ Table V appears here./ /405/ And for a stronger reason in the case of families 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 27, composed respectively of 10, 12, 18, 21, and 15 persons, the incomes of which are still very average.

There is another obvious reason for this greater consumption of millet: it is the case of the cultivators, who, producing millet, consume it almost entirely. Nos. 6, 12, 14, 20, 23, [243] and 32 consume millet that they have cultivated themselves; all are not cultivators, but own a few fields in the vicinity of Thiès. Cultivator No. 10, whom we mentioned above, preferred to sell his millet immediately after the harvest.

As for the harvest of No. 24, it is not sufficient to feed 21 persons; it is sometimes necessary to buy a few kilograms to supplement it.

262* These few statements prove what we said above: it is in
511* large part by necessity that the Thiès people eat millet instead of rice. If they do not do it, it will almost always be to the detriment of balancing their budget. Consuming two times less rice as against two times more millet, families 2 and 4 save sums equivalent to 4.5 % and 4.1% of their incomes.

The portion of the income devoted to the purchase of rice is by far, on the whole, the greatest for the small incomes. For incomes lower than 10,000 francs, it is exceeded in three cases by the portion for meat (1) (in six cases for the incomes

1. In two cases by that for bread.

higher than 15,000 francs).

The quantities consumed, however, are low, even very low. A man of family 6 consumes 14.6 kilograms of rice and 11.6

[Text continues on p.28]

/1403/ 262* 571*

Table IV

No.	Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income Spent on Rice	% of Income Spent on Millet	% Weight of Millet to Weight of Rice [1]
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	24.33	18.6	139.5
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	24.9	10.3	69.7
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	14.4	5.2	61.5
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	22.9	9.7	73.0
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	13.3	12.4	140.0
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	15.2	--	166.6
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	11.1	7.5	125.0
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	14.1	8.3	108.0
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	11.1	7.4	81.5
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	5.1	8.3	250.0
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	16.7	8.9	90.4
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	51.0	--	12.9
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	17.4	10.0	98.0
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	18.4	--	80.7
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	12.4	5.1	68.6
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	17.1	2.8	30.0

[1] [this shows the proportion, always in relation to 100, of the quantity of millet to the quantity of rice consumed. - ANALYST]

/403 cont./

Table IV (cont.)

No.	Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income Spent on Rice	% of Income Spent on Millet	% Weight of Millet to Weight of Rice
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	24.6	7.7	48.3
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	26.8	--	--
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	12.6	0.8	10.0
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	25.4	--	169.8
21	Wolof	Clerk	13.000	12.6	3.8	44.4
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	18.0	10.2	100.0
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	15.7	--	128.3
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	11.3	0.4	195.9
25	Wolof	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	11.5	13.2	163.3
26	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	15,800	7.1	--	--
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	5.0	5.9	204.0
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	15.2	8.9	97.8
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	9.8	5.4	88.5
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	7.5	4.9	93.3
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	17.2	1.1	10.8

4: Mersadier--24 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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/403 cont./

Table IV (cont.)

No.	Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income Spent on Rice	% of Income Spent on Millet	% Weight of Millet to Weight of Rice
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	4.1	--	344.0
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	5.7	3.3	88.8
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	4.8	6.3	8.9
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	6.6	1.9	50.0
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	6.5	--	--
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	11.6	2.0	125.0
38	Wolof	Jeweler	40,000	5.9	1.2	37.1
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	2.2	0.6	35.8
40	Wolof	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	8.1	3.8	80.6
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	6.4	5.1	150.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker D.N.	56,000	8.0	3.7	79.3
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	0.9	--	--

4t Mersadier--25 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
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Table V

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Rice		Millet		Bread	
				Qt. (kg.)	I. M. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I. M. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I. M. (kg.)
1	5,800	13	10	43.5	4.3	60.0	6.0	17	1.7
2	6,100	10	5.5	43.5	7.9	30.0	5.4	10.8	1.9
3	6.500	4	2.8	26.0	9.2	16.7	5.9	5.3	1.8
4	6.700	7	5.1	42.5	8.3	31.5	6.1	6.0	1.1
5	6,745	7	5.6	30.0	5.3	42.5	7.5	10.2	1.9
6	7,000	7	4.8	29.5	6.2	42.0	10.4	20.0	4.1
7	7,000	5	3.8	20.0	5.2	50.0	6.7	19.0	5.0
8	7,410	5	4.4	30.0	6.8	25.3	7.5	14.0	3.1
9	7,500	6	4.4	27.7	6.3	32.5	5.5	25.0	5.6
10	8,150	12	9.6	13.0	1.3	22.4	3.3	20.7	2.2
11	8,940	6	4.5	52.5	11.7	32.5	10.6	3.0	0.6
12	9,000	8	6.3	135.2	21.5	47.5	2.8	9.2	1.5
13	9,800	5	4.4	50.0	11.3	17.5	11.1	12.0	2.7
14	10,000	10	8.9	52.5	5.9	49.0	4.7	28.5	3.2
15	10,000	7	5.5	34.7	6.3	23.9	4.3	19.7	3.5
16	10,675	4	3.2	55.0	17.1	16.5	5.3	17.0	9.4

/404 cont./ 262* 511*

Table V (cont.)

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Rice		Millet		Bread	
				Qt. (kg.)	I. M. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I. M. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I. M. (kg.)
17	10, 800	9	5.9	83.5	12.1	40.0	5.0	10.2	1.4
18	11, 000	4	3.6	91.0	25.2	--	--	9.2	2.5
19	11, 950	9	7.1	48.5	6.9	5.0	0.7	18.2	2.6
20	12, 000	10	7.6	53.0	6.9	90.0	11.8	38.7	5.1
21	13.000	5	3.8	54.0	14.2	24.0	7.5	24.0	6.3
22	14, 000	12	9.1	70.0	7.6	70.0	7.5	27.6	3.0
23	15, 000	18	13.4	74.0	5.5	95.0	7.0	36.5	2.7
24	15, 000	21	14.4	49.2	3.4	96.2	6.7	31.0	2.1
25	15, 630	15	11.9	60.0	5.5	98.5	8.3	9.0	0.7
26	15, 800	4	2.3	31.5	13.9	--	--	6.0	2.6
27	16, 200	12	9.1	25.7	2.8	50.9	5.6	17.2	1.9
28	22, 000	18	14.7	93.0	6.3	91.0	6.1	30.0	2.0
29	22, 000	11	8.6	67.0	7.7	60.0	6.9	60.0	6.9
30	24, 000	7	5.1	60.0	11.7	56.0	10.9	31.5	6.2
31	25, 000	18	14.4	120.0	8.3	13.0	0.9	19.2	1.3
32	25, 000	6	4.8	29.0	6.2	100, 0	2.0	26.6	5.6
33	25, 000	7	5.1	45.0	8.8	40.0	7.8	24.2	4.7

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/404 cont./

Table C (cont.)

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Rice		Millet		Bread	
				Qt. (kg.)	I. M. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I. M. (kg.)	Qt. (kg.)	I. M. (kg.)
34	25,900	4	3.3	39.0	10.8	3.5	5.4	24.7	7.5
35	27,000	6	4.6	50.0	11.8	25.0	1.2	23.7	5.2
36	34,000	15	12.5	93.4	7.4	--	--	16.5	1.3
37	36,000	24	19.8	120.0	6.0	150.0	7.5	32.5	1.6
38	50,000	13	10.5	78.2	7.4	29.0	2.7	47.0	4.4
39	51,000	11	8.0	31.2	3.8	11.2	1.3	37.0	4.6
40	55,000	24	17.5	124.0	7.0	100.0	5.7	34.0	1.9
41	55,500	14	10.4	100.0	9.6	150.0	14.4	40.0	3.8
42	56,000	11	8.6	126.0	14.6	100.0	11.6	54.5	6.4
43	81,000	5	4	16.8	4.2	--	--	39.5	10.0

/405 cont./

517* 262* kilograms of millet. This is a good deal, but not excessive. The following greatest consumption is that of No. 9, a Peul who purchases the rice that he eats in large quantity by liking and by tradition, but also consumes the little millet that he cultivates. 21.5 and 2.8 kilograms, respectively. This is nearly normal for a Peul from Fouta Djalon. And the very low figures of consumption are in the majority. We give them as information, leaving the task of judging them to the specialists (2).

2. The average consumption of rice for all the families is 8.2 kilograms. The average consumption of millet is 5.8 kilograms.

We have put alongside our quantities of rice and millet those of bread. Let us state on this subject that, except for the baker, all consumption higher than four kilograms per man per month is /406/ found among the workers and employees (with the exception of No. 6 and No. 38, the latter having a more varied diet in other respects). All of our families habitually [264] eat bread, and all except three only for breakfast.

The portion of the income devoted to bread (Table X)[1] is far from being negligible and sometimes exceeds 10%. Bread is regarded as a luxury product; it is even more expensive than [435] rice! And it is certainly because of its utility (it requires no [264] preparation before being consumed) that it is utilized, but only for the first meal of the day. The average consumption of our families is in any case quite low: 3.5 kilograms per man per month, or 113 grams per day. At the time of rationing in France, the average ration amounted to 300 grams.

Eighteen families in all exceed this average of 113 grams per day per month. This greater consumption was noted, logically, among the largest incomes (11 out of 18) where its purchase rarely requires more than 5% of the income. This percentage reaches 6.9 for family 29, and, for the lower incomes exceeding

1 [See cat 116 pp 51-53 - ANALYST]

/406 cont./

*511 the average of 3.5 kilograms, it is, in increasing order, 6.2%,
*262 6.9%, 7.9%, 10.1%, 10.2%, 10.3%, and 11.8%.

Fish and meat constitute the second group of essential foods for the Africans of the cities of Senegal.

[438] Thiès, near a coast very rich in fish, is abundantly pro-
[435] vided with fish. In the month of March 1954, there was a profusion of them in all the markets at the nearly constant price of 40 francs a kilogram.

[435] Meat is much more expensive. The price most commonly verified at this time was 80 francs, double that of fish. There was no significant variation in the price during the period of the investigation. Uniform quality is to be understood. Now, with four exceptions (1), our families only bought meat at 80

1. Nos. 38, 39, 42, and 43.

francs a kilogram. To make all of the families comparable, we have divided the prices actually paid by 80 and obtained quantities of meat of a single quality.

The information that we received concerning meat and fish is assembled in Tables VI and VII[1]/4 presented in the same manner as that relating to rice and millet. The last /407/ column of Table VI shows the families who on the whole consume more meat than fish. (Only quantities are involved here.)

There are ten of them, plus one just at the limit, including No. 43 which we eliminated.

Among the ten others, six have already appeared before us as consuming more millet than rice; they are Nos. 1, 7, 10, 24, 32, and 41. This fact cannot be explained here by either the size of the group of consumers or by the financial possibilities, since meat is twice as expensive as fish. It is probably that for these six families the greater consumption of meat is a direct consequence of the greater consumption of millet. Among our four basic products, the most common associations are in fact that of rice with fish and that of millet with meat. The two

1/1 [See cat 116, pp 31-36 - ANALYST]

/407 cont./

*511 *262 [592] inverse combinations are encountered, but they are much less common and much less liked. But, although it is generally the head of the family who buys rice and millet, large expenses coming together at the beginning of the month, it is the housewife who chooses between fish and meat at the market; already having in stock a large quantity of millet, she primarily buys meat, which normally accompanies it. Economic calculation is not her strong point, and it is probably that, if her husband left her entirely free for the other purchases, she would choose rice before millet, which would not be in order to avoid the work of pounding.

Four other families eat more meat than fish: No. 9; No. 14, a cultivator actually used to millet, but who has exhausted his harvest; and Nos. 15 and 42, two Bambara.

But there is not necessarily any agreement between these qualitative statements and the quantities actually consumed by an individual. The monthly consumption of the 43 families was established at 2.5 kilograms for meat and 4.7 kilograms for fish. Among the ten families whose total consumption of meat exceeds that of fish, there are only three where the individual consumption of meat reaches or exceeds this average (Nos. 7, 9, 32), whereas it is among 17 families in all that it is reached, as against 20 for the average for fish. In relation to the central income (No. 22, 14,000 francs), these families are grouped as follows:

For fish: 9 above, 12 below.

For meat: 6 above, 11 below.

There are four families above who reach the average in both cases. There are eight of them below. /408/ /Table VI appears here./ /409/ /Table VII appears here./

/410/ Before leaving these four basic products, we might make some comparisons on the distribution of the families who reach, for each, the average for individual consumption:

--For millet, 22 families reach the average: 12 above the central income, 10 below.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p.37]

4: Meradier--31 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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*262

Table VI

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	U. C.	% of Income Spent on Fish	% of Income Spent on Meat	% Weight of Meat to Weight of Fish
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	13	2.8	14.2	251.0
2	Peul	Orderly	10	7.2	2.6	18.1
3	Wolof	Laborer	4	3.6	1.2	16.6
4	Sérère	Laborer	7	15.7	9.1	28.7
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	7	8.9	12.4	69.5
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7	5.0	7.1	71.2
7	Wolof	Laborer	5	6.3	12.4	98.1
8	Wolof	Orderly	5	9.8	5.6	28.8
9	Wolof	Baker	6	5.8	12.9	110.0
10	Wolof	Cultivator	12	2.6	12.0	232.0
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	6	13.0	14.0	51.9
12	Peul	Laborer	8	15.0	1.3	4.3
13	Wolof	Laborer	5	14.4	8.5	41.5
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10	3.3	10.5	148.0
15	Bambara	Laborer	7	3.5	8.4	119.0
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	4	11.1	8.4	28.2
17	Moor	Auxiliary	9	12	14.8	61.5

4: Mersadier--32 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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/408 cont./

Table VI (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	U. C.	% of Income Spent on Fish	% of Income Spent on Meat	% Weight of Meat to Weight of Fish
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	4	11.1	2.5	11.0
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	9	5.4	8.8	81.4
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	10	11.9	7.6	32.1
21	Wolof	Clerk	5	8	10.1	63.2
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	12	9.3	10.4	55.4
23	Wolof	Cultivator	18	4.5	7.9	86.6
24	Wolof	Cultivator	21	3.3	10.2	152.0
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15	12.5	12.7	50.9
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	4	5.6	7.7	67.5
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	12	4.5	4.5	49.2
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	18	13.0	11.1	42.9
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	11	8.2	5.8	33.3
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	7	5.5	5.8	56.7
31	Wolof	Carpenter	18	11.4	12.0	52.3
32	Wolof	Cultivator	6	1.5	4.2	133.0

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/408 cont./

Table VI (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	U. C.	% of Income Spent on Fish	% of Income Spent on Meat	% Weight of Meat to Weight of Fish
33	Sérere	Chauffeur	7	6.0	7.9	65.7
34	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	4	4.1	3.7	45.1
35	Wolof	Staff employee	6	6.4	7.2	56.0
36	Wolof	Private accountant	15	11.5	--	--
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	24	8.4	11.5	68.7
38	Wolof	Jeweler	13	4.6	5.4	60.0
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	11	1.8	6.7	61.1
40	Wolof	Staffworker D. N.	24	8.1	7.3	45.2
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	14	1.6	3.4	105.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker	11	1.7	7.5	212.0
43	Wolof	Doctor	5	0.9	5.0	255.0

4: Mesadier--34 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Table VII

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Fish Qt. (kg.)	Fish I. M. (kg)	Meat Qt. (kg.)	Meat I. M. (kg.)	Oil Qt. (l.)	Oil I. M. (l.)
1	[illegible]800	13	10	4.1	0.4	10.3	1.0	5	0.5
2	6,100	10	5.5	11.0	2.0	5.0	0.3	8.5	1.5
3	6,500	4	2.8	6.0	2.1	1.0	0.3	6.0	2.1
4	6,700	7	5.1	26.4	5.1	7.0	1.4	15.0	2.8
5	6,745	7	5.6	16.1	2.6	10.5	1.8	6.0	1.0
6	7,000	7	4.8	8.7	1.8	6.2	1.2	6.5	1.3
7	7,000	5	3.8	11.1	2.9	10.9	2.8	10.5	2.7
8	7,410	5	4.4	18.0	4.0	5.2	1.1	6.5	1.4
9	7,500	6	4.4	11.0	2.5	12.1	2.7	11.0	5.1
10	8,150	12	9.6	5.3	0.5	12.3	1.2	4.5	0.4
11	8,940	6	4.5	30.8	6.8	16.0	3.5	12.0	2.6
12	9,000	8	6.3	34.6	5.4	1.5	0.2	14.0	2.2
13	9,800	5	4.4	35.3	8.0	10.5	2.3	24.0	5.4
14	10,000	10	8.9	8.8	1.0	13.1	1.4	14.0	1.5
15	[illegible]000	7	5.5	8.8	1.6	10.5	2.0	16.0	2.9
16	10,675	4	3.2	29.6	9.2	11.2	3.5	6.5	2.0
17	10,800	9	6.9	32.5	4.7	20.0	2.8	12.0	1.7

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/409 cont./

Table VII(cont.)

No.	Income	U.C.	Theor. Comp.	Fish Qt. (kg.)	Fish I.M. (kg.)	Meat Qt. (kg.)	Meat I.M. (kg.)	Oil Qt. (l.)	Oil I.M. (l.)
18	11,000	4	3.6	30.7	8.5	3.4	0.9	25.0	6.9
19	11,950	9	7.1	16.2	2.2	13.2	1.8	8.0	0.1
20	12,000	10	7.6	35.8	4.7	11.5	1.5	13.0	1.7
21	13,000	5	3.8	26.1	6.8	16.5	3.3	11.0	2.8
22	14,000	12	9.1	32.8	3.6	18.2	2.0	17.0	1.8
23	15,000	18	13.4	17.2	1.2	14.9	1.1	17.0	1.2
24	15,000	21	14.4	12.6	0.8	19.2	1.3	12.0	0.8
25	15,630	15	11.9	48.9	4.1	24.9	2.0	10.0	0.8
26	15,800	4	2.3	22.5	9.7	15.2	6.6	16.0	6.9
27	16,200	12	9.1	20.3	2.2	10.0	1.0	5.9	0.6
28	22,000	18	11.7	71.5	4.8	30.7	2.0	31.0	2.1
29	22,000	11	8.6	45.3	5.2	15.1	1.7	29.0	3.3
30	24,000	7	5.1	31.0	6.0	17.6	3.4	20.0	3.9
31	25,000	18	14.4	71.7	4.9	37.5	2.7	24.0	1.6
32	25,000	6	4.8	10.0	2.0	13.3	2.7	11.0	2.2
33	25,000	7	5.1	37.7	7.3	24.8	4.8	26.0	5.0

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Table VII (cont.)

No.	Income	U.C.	Theor. Comp.	Fish Qt. (kg.)	Fish I.M. (kg.)	Meat Qt. (kg.)	Meat I.M. (kg.)	Oil Qt. (l.)	Oil I.M. (l.)
34	25.900	4	3.3	26.6	8.0	12.0	3.6	25.0	7.5
35	27.000	6	4.6	43.7	10.7	24.5	5.3	16.0	3.4
36	34.000	15	12.5	97.7	7.8	--	--	47.0	3.7
37	36.000	24	19.8	75.6	3.8	52.0	2.6	47.0	2.3
38	50.000	13	10.5	57.0	5.6	34.2	3.2	36.5	3.4
39	51.000	11	8.0	23.7	2.9	14.5	1.8	10.0	1.2
40	55.000	24	17.5	112.0	6.4	50.7	2.8	38.0	2.1
41	55.500	14	10.4	22.5	21.1	23.7	2.2	30.0	2.8
42	56.000	11	8.6	25.0	2.9	43.0	6.1	20.0	2.3
43	81.000	5	4	20.0	5.0	51.1	12.7	14.0	3.5

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*511 *262 --For rice, out of 17 families, 11, with 8 above and 9 below /11 en a 8 au-dessus et 9 au-dessous/.

Only three families reach the average for the four products; these are Nos. 11, 21, and 30.

Among the ten families who reach the average for three products, there are six for the combination rice, meat, fish, three for the combination millet, rice, fish, and only one for the combination millet, rice, meat.

By contrast, among the families with two averages represented, we find only two "millet-fish," as against three "millet-meat." Two bring together meat and fish, two rice and fish, two millet and rice. There were none for the combination meat-fish.

Finally, seven families reach the average for only millet, two for only meat, and one, No. 36, who never consumes meat, for only fish.

In conclusion, six families never reach the average: Nos. 2, 10, 14, 15, 19, and 27, with five above the central income, and one below (1).

1. We prefer to use the central income rather than the average income. The latter, which at 19,000 francs (not including No. 43) would fall between Nos. 27 and 28, is a little too swollen by the size of the very large incomes.

Africans have a reputation for absorbing a very great quantity of fatty substances, which, one supposes, would be indispensable in the face of this continual consumption of rice and millet.

Now, for the 43 families studied, we find an average of two and a half liters per person per month (Table VII). This

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*511 *262 is a high average, but does not seem excessive to us. Still, one must consider the six families where more of it is consumed: from 5 to 7.5 liters per person per month. This is indeed a great deal. With these families eliminated, the average falls to 1.9 liters, and it is reached or exceeded by 25 families. Only two figures for consumption are low: those for Nos. 1 (0.5 and 19 (0.1).

[435] But oil is expensive. 100 francs a liter on the average, and its consumption /411/ is therefore limited; thus, No. 4 in our series, with the purchase of 15 liters monthly, 2.8 per man, devotes 21.1% of his income to it (Table VIII).[1/1] An individual of No. 2, who consumes 1 1/2 liters of it each month, uses 12.6% of his income for it. And what would become of the budget of No. 1 if all the members of the unit of consumption picked up the notion of consuming the average two and a half liters; the purchase of the 25 liters required would take 42.8% of the family income.

Moreover, it is significant to see that the quantities of oil consumed do not increase with the incomes. Among the last nine families there is no figure higher than four liters per man per month.

*511 *262 263 We have grouped under the rubric "Condiments" (Table VIII) commodities that in fact are quite dissimilar. Their caloric value is of little importance. Nevertheless the height of misery for the Africans would be to be unable to relieve their diets, first, with condiments properly speaking, pepper, salt, vinegar, pimentos, then with small quantities of vegetables, properly qualifying as condiments because they are bought in only very small quantities, and finally with dried fish, whose flavor is infinitely superior to that of fresh fish; it often replaces the latter in the rice with fish, if not in quantity, at least in quality.

The percentages given in this column of Table VIII thus refer to a whole group of minor products, from the crushed baobab leaf to the slices of dried fish: parsley, onions, garlic, bits of sugar beets and cabbage, ground tomatoes, various

1/1 [see cat 116, PP 40-42 - ANALYST]

*511 /411 cont./
*262 products of gathering. All, let us repeat, in very small daily
263 quantities. Moreover, these are the products[1] that are the
443 objects involved in the small-scale commerce of the women;
434 quite often buying two or three times more than they need,
*511 they set up a little flat basket before the door of their con-
438 cession and suggest to the passers-by that they spare them-
selves the fatigue of going all the way to the market. They can make very small profits in this way, from five to ten francs a day.

*511 Nevertheless, with one thing added to another, the costs
*262 of these various condiments end up by absorbing another rela-
263 tively important part of the familial income (1).

1. The portion for dried fish is generally very close to 1/5 of the figures given.

The size of this income thus acts as a check on their consumption, but ultimately only the taste and the habits of each are truly determinative. /412/ /Table VIII appears here./ /413/ /Table IX appears here./

/414/ We mentioned under the rubric "Vegetables" only the truly important purchases. It is the housewife herself who calls them either vegetables or condiments, according to the importance that they will have in the meal that she is going to prepare; a greater quantity of vegetables will permit reducing the quantity of rice or millet. If the latter does not change, they are condiments. The nuance is understandable. Our investigators themselves made it, and it was subsequently difficult for us not to take it into account.

*511 The quantities given in Table IX[2] are not actual quantities.
*262 We have again in this case eliminated the factor of quality,
the differences in quality being replaced by differences in
[435] quantity. The "standard vegetable" chosen was the cabbage,
which in March 1953 was worth 20 francs a kilogram. This

1 [i.e. - various condiments - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 43-45 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p. 46]

4: Meradier--40 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Table VIII

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income for Condiments	% of Income for Vegetables	% of Income for Manioc	% of Income for Oil
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	1.9	2.3	0.2	6.8
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	3.1	5.8	--	12.6
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	2.0	3.4	0.6	8.1
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	4.5	8.1	2.1	21.1
5	Toucouleur	Orderly	6,745	8.5	5.0	1.3	7.7
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	6.5	3.1	1.9	8.2
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	8.2	2.7	3.5	13.2
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	3.5	6.3	1.4	8.7
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	7.7	2.7	1.5	12.6
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	4.0	1.7	--	5.7
11	Moor	Auxiliary	8,950	5.4	7.4	1.0	12.0
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	4.1	1.0	1.3	14.0
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	2.6	5.3	1.3	20.4
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	6.2	1.9	2.9	9.9
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	6.5	2.0	2.6	14.3

4: Mersadier--41 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Table VIII (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income for Condiments	% of Income for Vegetables	% of Income for Manioc	% of Income for Oil
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	9.0	13.5	2.0	5.2
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	3.2	5.6	0.8	9.7
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	4.6	5.2	1.3	18.1
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	3.8	3.8	1.0	5.6
20	Bambara	Auxiliary	12,000	7.7	8.3	2.2	9.3
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	7.6	9.4	1.0	7.6
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	5.9	9.2	0.9	10.7
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	4.5	1.6	2.2	7.3
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	2.4	1.4	2.2	8.9
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15,630	3.9	5.7	0.7	5.7
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	7.7	8.7	--	8.9
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	2.7	1.3	1.0	2.8
28	Wolof	Worker	22,000	3.7	6.0	1.1	12.4
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	2.0	2.9	--	11.8
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	3.1	5.9	0.4	7.6
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	2.0	--	1.3	9.6

4: Meradier--42 U-5 (1964) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Table VIII (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	% of Income for Condiments	% of Income for Vegetables	% of Income for Manioc	% of Income for Oil
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.2	0.8	1.1	3.9
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	1.7	2.6	0.6	9.1
34	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	25,900	1.8	3.0	--	6.7
35	Wolof	Managerial Employee	27,000	5.7	8.9	2.5	5.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	2.6	7.7	0.1	13.3
37	Wolof	Truck gardener	36,000	1.5	5.2	1.0	3.3
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	3.8	5.1	0.1	6.5
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	0.8	2.6	--	1.7
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	0.7	3.0	0.5	6.5
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	1.0	2.3	--	2.0
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	2.3	1.8	0.2	2.4
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	1.7	1.9	--	0.3

/413/
4: Mersadier--48 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Table IX

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Vegetables Qt. (kg.)	Vegetables I. M. (kg.)	Manioc Qt. (kg.)	Manioc I. M. (kg.)
1	5,800	13	10	6.9	0.7	1.0	0.1
2	6,100	10	5.5	17,7	3.2	2.0	--
3	6,500	4	2.8	11.3	4.0	2.0	0.7
4	6,700	7	5.10	27.4	5.3	12.0	2.3
5	6,745	7	5.6	16.9	3.0	5.1	0.9
6	7,000	7	4.8	10.8	2.2	8.0	1.6
7	7,000	5	3.8	9.5	2.5	14.7	3.8
8	7,410	5	4.4	23.3	5.2	6.2	1.4
9	7,500	6	4.4	10.1	2.2	15.0	3.4
10	8,150	12	9.6	7.0	0.7	--	0.3
11	8,950	6	4.5	33.4	7.4	5.5	1.2
12	9,000	8	6.3	4.9	0.7	6.9	1.1
13	9,800	5	4.4	26.1	5.9	7.7	1.7
14	10,000	10	8.9	9.8	1.1	17.3	1.9
15	10,000	7	5.5	10.0	1.8	15.7	2.8
16	10,675	4	3.2	71.3	22.0	12.2	3.8

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Table IX (cont.)

No.	Income	U. C.	Theor. Comp.	Vegetables Qt. (kg.) (kg.)	Vegetables I. M. (kg.)	Manioc Qt. (kg.)	Manioc I. M. (kg.)
17	10,800	9	6.9	30.6	4.4	5.2	0.7
18	11,000	4	3.6	29.1	9.5	8.6	2.3
19	11,950	9	7.1	23.1	3.2	1.0	0.1
20	12,000	10	7.6	50.6	6.6	15.5	2.0
21	13,000	5	3.8	61.6	16.2	7.7	2.0
22	14,000	12	9.1	65.1	6.0	6.8	0.7
23	15,000	18	13.4	12.6	0.9	7.6	0.5
24	15,000	21	14.4	10.6	0.7	7.6	0.5
25	15,630	15	11.9	44.6	3.7	6.4	0.5
26	15,800	4	2.3	69.5	30.0	--	--
27	16,200	12	9.1	11.1	1.2	10.0	1.0
28	22,000	18	14.7	67.5	4.5	15.3	1.0
29	22,000	11	8.6	32.5	3.7	0.3	1.0
30	24,000	7	5.1	71.8	14.0	6.9	1.3
31	25,000	18	14.4	114.0	10.0	19.0	1.3
32	25,000	6	4.8	10.3	2.1	17.0	3.5
33	25,000	7	5.1	32.5	6.3	9.6	1.8

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Table IX (cont.)

No.	Income	U.C.	Theor. Comp.	Vegetables Qt. (kg.)	Vegetables I.M. (kg.)	Manioc Qt. (kg.)	Manioc I.M. (kg.)
34	25,900	4	3.3	39.0	11.0	1.0	0.3
35	27,000	8	4.6	121.1	26.0	8.2	1.7
36	34,000	15	12.6	132.4	10.5	3.1	0.2
37	36,000	24	19.8	94.6	5.0	21.0	1.0
38	50,000	13	10.5	129.7	12.8	4.7	0.5
39	51,000	11	8.0	66.5	8.3	--	--
40	55,000	24	17.5	84.7	4.8	15.8	9.3
41	55,500	14	10.0	65.0	6.2	12.0	1.2
42	56,000	11	8.6	53.2	6.1	7.3	0.9
43	81,000	5	4.0	79.3	19.7	--	--

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*511 *262 procedure, certainly less valuable for a nutritionist, offers another advantage for us: the costs for vegetables noted during the investigation are among the most precise, whereas the quantities, merely estimated, were sometimes very fantastic. The operation was thus worth the trouble of doing it.

The portion of the income devoted to vegetables is relatively not very important; it exceeded 10% in only one case (No. 16). It is sometimes less than that devoted to condiments. On the other hand, we prove that it does not decrease very noticeably as one approaches the high incomes. The consumption of vegetables seems to vary precisely as the incomes do, increasing with them in almost parallel fashion.

This is the first product that we have encountered where this parallelism begins to be revealed.

The average consumption of vegetables for the 43 families is seven kilograms per man per month. With two exceptions, Nos. 11 and 16, one begins to find it frequently beginning with No. 20, whose income is 12,000 francs. From No. 24 on, most of the consumption is higher than 10 kilograms.

Pushing the investigation further, one sees that No. 11, which is an exception among the small incomes, is a unit of consumption composed of only six persons (4.5 men). Family No. 16, 22 kilograms of vegetables, contains four persons (3.2 men). And then:

No. 21: 16.2 kilograms, 5 persons (3.8)
No. 26: 30.0 kilograms, 3 persons (2.8)
No. 30: 14.0 kilograms, 7 persons (5.1)
No. 34: 11.0 kilograms, 4 persons (3.3)
No. 35: 26.0 kilograms, 6 persons (4.6)
No. 43: 19.7 kilograms, 5 persons (4)

[244] /415/ Nos. 31, 36, and 38 remain. No. 31 has large gardens and does not buy vegetables. Its greater consumption is thus explicable (1).

1. Moreover, for this family this is only an estimation; we

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have no purchase price from which we could have obtained a valid weight in "cabbage unit."

No. 36, which consumes neither meat nor millet, normally makes up for this with vegetables. With No. 38 we are in the category of higher incomes where no restriction is envisaged by reason of size of family. It is undoubtedly with this family that we reach the upper limit of the consumption of vegetables.

Let us recall once more that though the costs are the actual costs, the quantities are fictive. Hence, it is not 19.7 kilograms of cabbage that an individual of family 36 consumes each month. For the latter in particular (the only one where we saw the housewife shell peas) it is the highness of the quality, hence of the price, that has led us to a figure likewise high. The observation is valid for the other families that we shall cite; the reduction of the composition of the unit of consumption permits improvement not only in the quantity but also in the quality of the products consumed.

Beside the columns "Vegetables" we have put the information received concerning manioc. Cheap food (from 14 to 17 [435] francs a kilogram), it is not greatly liked by the Africans. But it has spread widely; its cultivation requires almost no care, and the yields are high.

It is therefore used especially as a food to tide one over; it is to be noted that, with one exception, the families consuming the most are never those who uniformly consume more than ten kilograms of vegetables per individual. In only one case was more than 3% of the income devoted to it.

We shall have finished the study of the principal food commodities after having mentioned sugar and milk (Tables X and XI).[1]

*511
263 The average consumption of sugar per individual is 1.7 kilograms for one month. But we find only a few figures that are very far below this average. The highest figure is 2.7.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 51-56 - ANALYST]

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*511 263 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511 272 [177] The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day. Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably [264] utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the [855] afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

[435] Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk: 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

/416 cont./

*511 272 [452] Above all it is infinitely less practical, keeping less long. Besides, condensed milk has the advantage in that it can be purchased in quantity at the beginning of the month and on credit.

Nevertheless it is in the group of small incomes that one finds the most regularity in its consumption; in the group of 5,000 to 8,000 francs in income, only two families have a consumption per man lower than one liter per month. From No. 12 to No. 24, up to incomes higher than 15,000 francs, it is always below one liter. In the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs, out of seven represented, in six it is higher than one liter.

There are thus few points of comparison between these two categories /417/ of milk. Their use is different, and they do not seem to be complementary.

We cannot speak of milk without saying a word about its breakfast complement, coffee. Its consumption is extremely variable. A product of the country, the quinquéliba, practically free, often substitutes for it, no matter what the income or occupational group. Coffee is perhaps a little more common in the group of incomes higher than 15,000 francs. The percentage, in proportion to the income, of the sums which are devoted to it is in general higher. Consumption thus increases in great proportions. Unfortunately it is impossible here to speak of quantities; coffee is sold ground, by pinches, and at [435] variable prices. We therefore only have elements for judging the outlays made for this product. Be that as it may, milk and coffee are important fixtures in the budget of African families; often 8 to 14% of the income is devoted to them (1).

1. Nos. 11 and 17 are Moors and thus traditionally drink tea. No. 11 devotes 1.3% of his income to it; No. 17, 4.4%. No. 39 takes cacao at breakfast; 0.7% of the income.

/417 cont./

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We likewise noted the purchase of cacao in the cases of No. 6 (1.2%) and No. 20 (0.7%).

We have thus surveyed the principal food expenses of our families. Is there truly nothing else?

There is, of course, a quantity of products that are incidentally represented in running over the questionnaires. They are sometimes of some importance in the units of consumption with high incomes.

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[264]

The groundnut is most often represented. This is not surprising; we are in Senegal. But the groundnut is a product that is sold more than it is consumed. Some are bought in amounts worth a five-franc bill in order to satisfy hunger while awaiting mealtime. In the form of a paste, it is put into certain dishes. In extreme cases the housewife buys the groundnut if she truly does not have enough money to do suitable marketing for other products. But though one often sees the groundnut in the shell between the hands of the women, it is only when she is shelling it, before roasting it, to sell it then at a very slight profit. /418/ /Table X appears here./ /419/ /Table XI appears here./

[252]
[438]

/420/ Here are the percentages of the income that have been devoted to it:

No. 2: 1.8	No. 17: 0.6	No. 29: 0.4
No. 4: 1.2	No. 18: 1.5	No. 31: 0.3
No. 5: 2.4	No. 19: 2.0	No. 33: 0.4
No. 6: 0.6	No. 20: 3.8	No. 37: 0.2
No. 8: 2.8	No. 21: 0.2	No. 38: 0.4
No. 13:: 1.0	No. 22: 0.8	No. 39: 0.2
No. 16:: 0.6	No. 25: 0.6	No. 40: 1.2

This last percentage expresses the greatest quantity; the cook has simply made a specialty of a dish based on groundnuts.

4: Mersadier--51 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Table X

No.	Occupation	Income	U.C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
1	Laborer	5,800	10	3.4	0	--	5.6	11.0
2	Orderly	6,100	5.5	--	2.3	0.2	7.0	6.2
3	Laborer	6,500	2.8	0.6	3.9	0.3	5.5	2.7
4	Laborer	6,700	5.10	4.1	1.4	3.5	10.0	2.6
5	Orderly	6,745	5.6	4.1	4.5	3.2	3.5	5.9
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	4.8	9.5	9.5	3.0	9.5	7.9
7	Laborer	7,000	3.8	--	3.1	--	6.1	10.1
8	Orderly	7,410	4.4	6.1	3.0	1.3	4.7	7.9
9	Baker	7,500	4.4	--	2.7	--	4.3	11.8
10	Cultivator	8,150	9.6	1.4	6.0	2.2	6.2	6.6
11	Auxiliary	8,950	4.5	--	--	--	1.5	1.1
12	Laborer	9,000	6.3	0.1	2.0	--	3.8	3.3
13	Laborer	9,800	4.4	0.8	1.1	1.0	5.2	4.1
14	Cultivator	10,000	8.9	--	1.9	--	5.5	10.3
15	Laborer	10,000	5.5	--	1.3	--	3.8	6.9
16	Auxiliary	10,675	1.8	1.1	0.7	2.5	2.0	6.0

4: Mersadier--52 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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/418 cont./

Table X (cont.)

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
17	Auxiliary	10.800	6.9	--	0.7	--	5.1	3.1
18	Spec. laborer	11.000	3.6	0.7	0.3	0.2	2.5	3.3
19	Accountant	11.950	7.1	6.1	--	2.5	2.8	5.1
20	Auxiliary	12.000	7.6	3.0	0.4	1.2	5.5	10.2
21	Clerk	13.000	3.8	9.4	1.8	1.9	4.8	6.2
22	Auxiliary	14.000	9.2	0.9	1.0	--	3.0	7.7
23	Cultivator	15.000	13.4	--	1.7	--	9.8	9.9
24	Cultivator	15.000	14.4	0.1	0.9	2.0	4.0	6.6
25	Auxiliary	15.630	11.9	0.7	3.2	2.7	2.2	2.0
26	Employee P.T.T.	15.800	2.3	3.1	--	3.4	2.8	2.4
27	Shoemaker	16.200	9.1	0.1	2.2	0.9	2.6	3.4
28	Worker	22.000	14.7	--	--	1.3	9.0	4.8
29	Police sergeant	22.000	8.6	6.0	3.0	2.5	3.8	9.7
30	Weigher	24.000	5.1	2.3	--	1.3	3.4	4.5

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/418 cont./

Table X (cont.)

No.	Occupation	Income	U. C. Theor. Comp.	% of Income for Condensed Milk	% of Income for Fresh Milk	% of Income for Coffee	% of Income for Sugar	% of Income for Bread
31	Carpenter	25,000	14.4	3.8	--	4.6	2.5	3.2
32	Cultivator	25,000	4.8	--	1.7	--	2.2	3.9
33	Chauffeur	25,000	5.1	0.8	--	3.9	2.2	3.2
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	3.3	1.1	0.7	1.0	11.9	3.3
35	Managerial employee	27,000	4.6	1.6	0.9	1.2	2.2	3.0
36	Private accountant	34,000	12.5	0.9	0.6	1.0	1.3	1.9
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	19.8	3.1	--	6.7	2.5	3.3
38	Jeweler	50,000	10.5	2.3	00	1.1	1.7	3.3
39	Teacher	51,000	8	1.7	--	--	2.5	2.5
40	Chief worker	55,000	17.5	1.6	--	2.9	2.2	2.0
41	Head employee	55,500	10.4	2.5	--	--	2.0	2.5
42	Chief worker	56,000	8.6	1.2	2.4	--	1.2	3.5
43	Doctor	81,000	4	0.5	--	1.2	0.3	1.7

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4: Mersadier--54 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Table XI

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (L.)
1	5,800	Sarakolé	6.2	0.6	2,000	200	--	--
2	6,100	Peul	7.2	1.3	--	--	3.4	0.6
3	6,500	Wolof	7.4	2.6	400	142	6.3	2.2
4	6,700	Sérère	11.7	2.3	2,800	549	2.2	0.4
5	6,745	Toucouleur	4.0	0.7	2,800	500	7.4	1.3
6	7,000	Wolof	12.4	2.6	6,650	1,380	16.6	3.4
7	7,000	Wolof	9.7	1.2	--	--	5.5	1.4
8	7,410	Wolof	6.0	1.3	4,550	1,034	5,5	1.2
9	7,500	Wolof	5.0	1.1	--	--	5.1	1.1
10	8,150	Wolof	10.0	1.1	1,200	125	14.2	1.4
11	8,940	Moor	2.5	0.6	--	--	--	--
12	9,000	Peul	6.3	1.0	150	238	4.6	0.7
13	9,800	Wolof	7.5	1.8	600	136	2.5	0.5
14	10,000	Wolof	11.5	1.3	--	--	4.6	0.5
15	10,000	Bambara	8.0	1.5	--	--	3.3	0.6
16	10,675	Bambara	4.0	1.2	1,200	370	1.8	0.5

4: Mersadier--55 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

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/419 cont./

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I. M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I. M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I. M. (l.)
17	10,800	Moor	7.7	1.1	--	--	1.8	0.2
18	11,000	Peul	2.0	0.5	800	222	--	--
19	11,950	Toucouleur	4.5	0.7	7,400	1,098	--	--
20	12,000	Bambara	10.2	1.4	3,600	470	1.2	0.1
21	13,000	Wolof	10.0	2.6	12,370	3,255	6.1	1.6
22	14,000	Wolof	7.0	0.7	1,350	148	3.2	0.3
23	15,000	Wolof	12.6	0.9	--	--	6.4	0.4
24	15,000	Wolof	12.0	0.8	200	138	3.5	0.2
25	15,630	Wolof	6.0	0.5	1,140	95	12.6	1.0
26	15,800	Wolof	4.0	1.7	5,000	2,173	--	--
27	16,200	Wolof	8.7	1.0	300	329	9.1	1.0
28	22,000	Wolof	8.0	0.5	--	--	--	--
29	22,000	Toucouleur	15.0	1.7	15,000	1,744	16.7	1.9
30	24,000	Wolof	15.0	2.9	5,600	1,100	--	--
31	25,000	Wolof	11.0	0.7	9,660	670	--	--
32	25,000	Wolof	11.6	2.5	--	--	11.1	2.3

4: Meradier--56 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511 263 272 /419 cont./

Table XI (cont.)

No.	Income	Ethnic Group	Sugar Qt. (kg.)	Sugar I.M. (kg.)	Condensed Milk Qt. (gr.)	Condensed Milk I.M. (gr.)	Fresh Milk Qt. (l.)	Fresh Milk I.M. (l.)
33	25.000	Sérère	8.5	1.7	2,000	400	--	--
34	25.900	Wolof	9.0	2.7	3,000	910	4.9	1.4
35	27.000	Wolof	10.5	2.3	4,400	950	0.5	--
36	34.000	Wolof	8.6	0.7	3,150	252	5.5	0.4
37	36.000	Wolof	6.2	0.3	11,400	575	--	--
38	50.000	Wolof	14.7	1.4	11,500	1,100	--	--
39	51.000	Sarakolé	20.0	2.5	8,400	1,050	--	--
40	55.000	Wolof	20.0	1.1	8,800	500	--	--
41	55.500	Sarakolé	20.0	1.9	14,400	1,380	--	--
42	56.000	Bambara	13.5	1.6	6,900	802	34.7	4.0
43	81.000	Wolof	5.0	1.2	4,200	1,300	--	--

/420 cont./

*511 *262 We sometimes found butter, but only once in an important amount, again in the case of No. 40, who devotes 2.5% of his income to it. The same No. 40 devotes another 2% of his 55,000 francs monthly for cheese. Two others copy him on this point: No. 34, 0.9%; No. 38, 0.3%.

Eggs appeared in five cases, all among the incomes over 15,000 francs and in small quantities, except fot No. 41 (2.8%). Likewise we sometimes found very small quantities of flour, sometimes potatoes: 0.8% of the income for No. 16; 1.7% for No. 21; 2.2% for No. 26; 1.9% for No. 35; and "traces" for a few others. Macaroni in two cases: No. 35, 0.5% of the income; No. 38, 0.1%. Fruits in two cases; No. 34, 3.1%; No. 39, 1.1%.

There are also quantities of little fancy articles that our families provide for themselves: a can of sardines, a bottle of mineral water, a package of bonbons, etc., always in too negligible a quantity for us to consider them seriously in this study of budgets.

*511 276 The only product that is quite generally consumed but that we hesitate to put in the category of "food" is the kola nut, which is chewed by habit, a habit which is difficult to break, like tobacco among others. In the case of some it can absorb an important part of the income (see Table XI).[1] Our five cultivators have a large consumption of it. Others say that this is because in the dry season they have nothing else to do. Let us note that for No. 10, who moreover has the lowest food standard, 5% of the total income is devoted to it.

Incidentally we can compare these figures with those obtained for tobacco (five cases).

/421/

No. 11:	3.9% of the income		(worker)
No. 16:	5.7%	--	(worker)
No. 17:	0.1%	--	(worker
No. 19:	6.7%	--	(accountant)
No. 36:	4.2%	--	(accountant)

For No. 11 we have 1.3% for kola; for No. 19, 0.6%.

[435] All the same, kola is less expensive than tobacco. And, it is

[1] [apparently Table XII is meant, see cat 116, pp 59-60 - ANALYST.]

/421 cont./

*511 [276] said, it is the best stimulant to counteract the effects of undernourishment.

There are three categories of "routine" expenses, those that we noted from day to day, which we still have to mention. They hold our attention less, because in a way they are obligatory. They are those relating to fuel, illumination, and the upkeep of clothing, laundry (Table XII).

[372] The most important one, in terms of the sums that it is necessary to devote to it, is fuel: wood and charcoal. It ordinarily represents 6 to 7% of the small incomes, then becomes smaller, decreasing as the income increases.

[354] By contrast, the percentage of the expenses devoted to illumination, much less important, does not show any great variation from one income to another, because there are various means of illumination, from the candle to the oil and electric lamps, not forgetting the battery lamp. The more modern the illumination is, the more onerous it becomes. It is modern to the degree that the incomes increase, just as a more comfortable dwelling, where there is a greater number of rooms to illuminate, corresponds to the increase in incomes.

As for the expenses devoted to the laundry of the family linen, they are proportional to the number of persons making up this family. Sometimes the portage expenses for the water, [271] which is also used in the kitchen, are added to them. Otherwise it would not be necessary to include the column "Water" in Table XII.

This concludes the survey of the principal routine expenses of our 43 families. For nearly half of them, totaling the percentages in proportion to the incomes obtained, we reach or exceed the figure 100. Nevertheless it is not enough to be fed and to have one's linen washed. Other expenses will have to figure, little or much, in the budget of these families. This is when the deficits are going to increase in very great proportions.

4: Mersadier--59 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511
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Table XII

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
1	5,800	0.2	1.2	5.6	0.9	--
2	6,100	1.9	0.5	4.5	--	1.6
3	6,500	3.8	0.5	1.0	1.3	0.8
4	6,700	7.3	0.5	1.4	--	0.1
5	6,745	6.3	0.9	4.0	--	0.3
6	7 000	7.5	1.1	1.5	--	2.0
7	7,000	3.7	2.2	2.5	--	3.7
8	7,410	3.5	0.6	1.6	--	0.2
9	7,500	4.3	0.5	1.6	1.0	4.7
10	8,150	6.5	2.3	2.2	0.6	5.0
11	9,940	7.8	0.2	1.9	--	1.3
12	9,000	4.6	0.7	1.1	2.2	0.1
13	9,800	7.1	0.7	5.8	--	--
14	10,000	2.9	2.5	1.2	0.4	2.9
15	10,000	2.9	2.1	0.6	--	3.1
16	10,675	7.2	0.3	5.1	--	--
17	10,800	6.0	1.0	4.4	--	--
18	11,000	5.1	0.9	1.4	--	--
19	11,950	2.9	1.8	2.0	--	0.6
20	12,000	11.4	1.8	4.7	--	--
21	13,000	5.3	1.3	2.3	1.6	0.9
22	14,000	8.1	1.1	3.9	0.3	0.2
23	15,000	2.0	1.7	2.0	0.3	2.6
24	15,000	4.0	0.7	1.0	3.2	1.5
25	15,630	6.6	0.9	1.8	--	0.2
26	15,800	3.1	1.6	4.0	--	--
27	16,200	2.5	0.7	2.2	0.9	0.7
28	22,000	3.9	1.7	2.7	--	0.1
29	22,000	1.3	1.6	1.3	--	--
30	24,000	3.7	0.7	1.0	--	0.1
31	25,000	3.2	0.3	0.6	--	0.4

/422 cont./ Table XII (cont.)

*511
276

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax 651 paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower; [659] one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes [602] higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are 427 given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their [466] employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often [423] limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an [342] administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

1 [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

/423 cont./

*511 362 427 It would be beyond our purpose to go into the problem of living conditions, since only budgets are in question here and not the standard of living in general. Let us state only that the desire to be the owner of one's home is legitimate if one examines the high cost of rent, and above all the portion of the income that its payment requires: 12% for No. 1, whose income is 5,800 francs (two rooms in a plank hut with a metal roof, where 13 persons are crowded together); 12.6% for No. 2; 14% for No. 16, etc.... The percentages noted after No. 26 are more normal, and the dwellings are more comfortable. But the incomes are from four to ten times higher.

*511 467 We have shown on the same table the percentages calculated for the syndical assessment, the cost of which is the same for everyone in the same syndicate (300 or 350 francs, depending on the syndicate), in order to show the cost, low on the whole, that they represent: one goes down in decreasing order from 0.4%, which is not negligible, to 0.09%, which is significant. No. 43 is a member of the syndicate of doctors, for which the assessment is higher.

*511 After rice, the clothing heading is the most important among many families. Some will be surprised at this, if they are not familiar with the cities of Senegal. Others would be expecting this result.

Table XIV$_4^4$ gives us the details for this heading, family by /424/ /Table XIII appears here/ /425/ family. The first verification shown is that the number of families exceeding 10% of the income is larger at the top of the table, where a deficit exists, than at the bottom. Should one conclude from this that they have decided to satisfy their reputed liking for clothing at any price?

The percentages are misleading; it is better for us to give some information on the absolute values.

From No. 1 to No. 10, none of these families devoted more than 10,000 francs to clothing in one year. No. 29 spent

1/1 [see cat 116, pp 66-67. ANALYST].

4: Mersadier--62 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Table XIII

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndical Assessment
1	Laborer	5,800	--	12	0.4
2	Orderly	6,100	4.0	--	0.4
3	Laborer	6,500	2.0	--	--
4	Laborer	6,700	--	12.6	0.3
5	Orderly	6,745	4.0	--	0.3
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	1.0	--	--
7	Laborer	7,000	1.7	11.4	0.4
8	Orderly	7,410	2.0	--	0.5
9	Baker	7,500	1.1	--	--
10	Cultivator	8,150	1.2	--	--
11	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	2.6	--	0.2
12	Laborer	9,000	3.4	--	0.2
13	Laborer	9,800	1.7	--	0.2
14	Cultivator	10,000	1.8	--	--
15	Laborer	10,000	3.1	7.5	--
16	Auxiliary	10,675	0.9	14	0.2
17	Auxiliary	10,800	2.1	--	0.2
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	1.1	--	0.2
19	Accountant	11,950	2.0	4.1	0.3
20	Auxiliary	12,000	1.3	--	0.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.2	--	0.1
22	Auxiliary	14,000	1.3	--	0.1
23	Cultivator	15,000	5.0	--	--
24	Cultivator	15,000	1.6	--	--
25	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	1.6	--	0.1
26	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	1.7	9.5	0.1
27	Shoemaker	16,200	3.4	--	--
28	Worker D. N.	22,000	4.5	--	0.1
29	Police sargeant	22,000	1.4	1.3	--

/424 cont./ Table XIII (cont.)

*511 427 65 467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24,000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25,000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25,000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25,000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34,000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36,000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50,000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51,000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D.N.	55,500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56,000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81,000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont./ 9,300 francs; No. 1, 8,000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15,000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5,000 to 10,000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10,000 to 15,000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291 292 796]

/425 cont./

*511 reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new
291 clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem
[292] slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses
[796] very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses.
[183] But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. ... The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below
[452] 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

/426 cont./

*511 352 lists is the bed (1). In nearly all of the African lodgings we

1. The 13.3% of the cultivator, No. 32, arose from the purchase of a cart and a horse.

find at least a bed, but there is rarely one for everyone. And [369] to sleep in a bed has become the best proof that one can give of his acclimatization to the city.

If the income is higher, one may be able to buy more important pieces of furniture. Then, in the order of their urgency, the armchairs, the rugs, and then the tables and wardrobes appear.

*511 Then we come to the rubric "Exceptional Expenses," those for which no absolute necessity is felt. Moreover they are rarer at the top of the table, only three, and then they multiply (Table XIV).

[405] The first thing that we find here is the watch or the alarm [301] clock, closely followed by the jewelry of the wife or wives. [493] There follow, but only in the highest incomes, the bicycle, [207] or, depending on the possibilities, the bicycle with a motor [301] on it or the motorcycle, then the battery radio. There is nothing very original in all this, and, except perhaps for the importance given to the jewelry of the women, we would find similar pretensions among European families having equivalent incomes.

*511 794 [771] In the last table (Table XV)[1] we have grouped a series of expenses that have a common origin, the religion of the families investigated, all Moslems except one. Two Moslem holidays are involved, Tabaski and Koritè, religious assessments, /427/ /Table XIV appears here/ /428/ offerings to the marabouts, and, finally, expenses arising from sending children to the Koranic school.

*511 796 For Tabaski, each family slaughters a sheep. There

1 [See cat 116, pp 69-71. ANALYST]

4: Mersadier--66 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/427/ *511

Table XIV

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Clothing	Equipment	Exceptional Expenses
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	11.4	--	--
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	4.0	2.2	--
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	9.6	2.0	--
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	6.2	0.6	--
5	Toucouleur	Orderly	6,745	3.3	0.6	--
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	4.7	0.9	--
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	8.0	--	--
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	6.7	0.8	1.6
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	10.3	1.1	--
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	4.6	6.7	1.5
11	Moor	Auxiliary	8,940	13.9	0.9	--
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	11.1	0.2	--
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	8.9	0.1	--
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	10.8	0.1	--
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	10.0	0.6	--
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	6.2	1.9	--
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	11.5	0.3	2.3
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	4.5	--	--
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	11.5	--	--
20	Bambara	Auxiliary	12,000	4.0	--	--
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	7.5	--	--
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	7.4	2.3	--
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	8.0	2.2	--
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	9.4	5.7	--
25	Wolof	Auxiliary	15,630	8.5	0.6	6.0
26	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	15,800	6.3	1.5	2.6
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	24.6	0.3	1.8
28	Wolof	Worker	22,000	5.6	--	0.7
29	Toucouleur	Police sargeant	22,000	4.5	0.2	3.0

/427 cont./ Table XIV (cont.)

*511

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Clothing	Equip-ment	Excep-tional Expenses
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	22.5	1.0	--
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	5.0	1.0	--
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.6	13.3	--
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	9.3	5.0	--
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	16.0	8.7	0.6
35	Wolof	Managerial employee	27,000	9.2	3.7	2.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	15.9	0.4	1.9
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	9.2	1.3	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	9.5	4.1	4.2
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	11.4	2.0	--
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	12.1	2.2	--
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	9.0	5.2	--
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	13.2	8.1	15.0
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	6.1	1.0	3.0

/428 cont./

*511 796 [435] [262] [426]

would have to be truly exceptional circumstances for this rule to be derogated. A sheep is worth 1,500 to 3,000 francs. And, of course, it is not interdicted to kill several of them. The mutton must be accompanied by various dishes, also as copious as possible.[1/1] All of this adds up to large outlays and often indebtedness for several months. The percentages in proportion to the monthly incomes are low, but it is in one month that all these expenses occur, and also many devoted to clothing. It is difficult not to go into debt.

1/1 [for the Moslem holiday - Tabaski - ANALYST]

/428 cont./

*511 796 [262] [735] For Korité, although meals more copious than usual are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the marabout.

For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

*511 794 [875] The religious assessments are less numerous than the syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

*511 871 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 15: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p. 72]

* 511 N94 r96 /429/

4: Mersadier--69 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Table XV

		% in proportion to income							
No.	Annual Income	1 Tabaski	2 Koritè	3 Asses.	4 Offerings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3-4-5	General Total
1	69,600	1.4	0.8	--	--	--	2.2	--	2.2
2	73,200	3.1	0.4	2	--	--	3.5	2	5.5
3	78,000	4.1	1.0	--	--	--	5.1	--	5.1
4	80,000	1.8	0.3	--	--	--	2.1	--	2.1
5	80,940	5.6	0.8	--	--	0.5	6.4	0.5	6.9
6	84,000	1.1	0.6	--	2.3	1.1	1.7	3.4	5.1
7	84,000	2.9	2.1	--	3.3	--	5.0	3.3	8.3
8	88,200	3.9	0.7	--	--	--	4.6	--	4.6
9	90,000	3.6	2.0	--	5.0	--	5.6	5.0	10.6
10	97,000	2.1	1.5	--	3.0	0.4	3.6	3.4	7.0
11	107,280	1.8	0.4	0.8	0.9	--	2.2	1.7	3.9
12	108,000	2.0	0.9	--	--	0.4	2.0	0.4	3.3
13	117,000	3.4	0.1	--	--	--	3.5	--	3.5
14	120,000	2.5	0.5	--	1.2	--	3.0	1.2	4.2
15	120,000	3.1	2.0	--	--	--	5.1	--	5.1
16	128,000	2.3	--	--	--	--	2.3	--	2.3

*571 794 796

4: Mersadier--70 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Table XV (cont.)

/429 cont./

No.	Annual Income	% in proportion to income: 1 Ta-baski	2 Ko-rité	3 Asses.	4 Offer-ings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3 - 4 - 5	General Total
17	129.000	2.3	0.6	--	--	--	2.9	--	2.9
18	132.000	3.0	0.7	--	--	--	3.7	--	3.7
19	143.000	2.0	0.5	2.0	3.4	--	2.5	5.4	7.9
20	144.000	1.7	0.6	--	--	--	2.3	--	2.3
21	156.000	2.8	1.5	0.1	0.2	1.9	4.3	3.2	7.5
22	168.000	1.8	0.4	0.7	--	--	2.2	0.7	2.9
23	180.000	4.1	2.3	0.5	2.7	1.7	6.4	4.9	11.3
24	180.000	1.6	1.3	--	--	1.3	2.9	1.3	3.2
25	187.560	1.7	0.5	0.3	--	--	2.2	0.3	2.5
26	189.600	2.1	0.6	0.7	1.3	--	2.7	3.8	8.5
27	194.000	2.3	1.0	--	--	0.4	3.3	0.4	3.7
28	264.000	1.3	0.3	0.9	--	--	1.6	0.9	2.5
29	264.000	1.5	--	0.9	--	--	1.5	0.9	2.4
30	288.000	1.7	0.9	--	--	0.3	2.6	0.3	2.9
31	300.000	1.0	0.3	0.3	--	--	1.9	0.4	1.7
32	300.000	1.5	0.5	1.2	1.6	0.1	2.0	2.9	4.9

4:Mersadier --71 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

*511 794 796

/429 cont./

Table XV (cont.)

No.	Annual Income	% in proportion to income: 1 Tabaski	2 Koranité	3 Asses.	4 Offerings	5 Koran School	Total 1 and 2	Total 3-4-5	General Total
33	300,000	1.6	0.4	-	-	-	2.0	-	2.0
34	310,000	5.1	0.4	1.1	-	-	5.5	1.1	6.6
35	324,000	5.5	0.4	-	-	-	5.9	-	5.3
36	408,000	2.9	0.7	0.8	0.9	-	3.6	1.7	5.3
37	432,000	3.2	0.5	0.8	0.9	-	3.7	1.7	5.4
38	600,000	3.3	0.5	0.6	-	0.2	3.8	0.8	4.6
39	612,000	1.6	0.8	-	-	-	2.4	-	2.4
40	660,000	1.5	0.4	1.0	0.6	1.0	1.9	2.6	4.5
41	666,000	1.5	0.4	0.6	-	-	1.9	0.6	2.5
42	678,000	2.2	0.5	-	1.4	1.0	2.7	2.4	5.1
43	972,000	1.6	-	-	-	-	1.6	-	1.6

/430 cont./

*511 871

No. 31: 0.5%
No. 38: 0.5%
No. 39: 0.6%
No. 40: 2.4%
No. 41: 4.4%
No. 42: 0.5%
No. 43: 5.6%

These percentages do not decrease. The explanation is to be seen in the fact that only families with high incomes send all of their children to school, and that, on the other hand, they often prefer, even Moslems, to send them to Catholic school.

*511 794 In three cases the family heads pointed out to us that in one year they were faced with the expenses occasioned by a baptism (which also requires a sheep). For No. 19 the cost represented 11.5% of the income, but only 6.3% and 3.4% for Nos. 26 and 31.

*511 593 602 But the heaviest familial obligation for many is the necessity of sending sums of money to their relatives who are in difficulties. For example, No. 3 sent to a brother a sum representing 2.5% of his income; No. 11, at two times, 4.4%; No. 24, 0.9%. Finally, No. 43 sends 8.2% of his income each month to his family and to that of his wife.

*511 595 Another familial obligation, this one desired: Nos. 18, 35, 38, 40, and 41 actually have two or three households, because they preferred not having all of their wives live together, a whim that comes to, respectively, 18.1%, 6.1%, 10%, 10.6% of their incomes. (The budget of No. 18 has a deficit of 15%.)

*511 357 Thirteen families employ one or several domestic workers. Moreover, all of them are located below the central income. Here is the portion of their budget that is devoted to this:

No. 24: 6.6%
No. 26: 2.2%
No. 27: 6.1%
No. 28: 1.5%
No. 30: 4.1%
No. 31: 4%
No. 34: 4.3%
No. 35: 3.7%
No. 37: 3.8%
No. 38: 2%
No. 40: 3%
No. 42: 1.7
No. 43: 11.1%

/430 cont./

*511 517 [541 546] Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; excluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16: 1%	No. 36: 1%
No. 22: 3.5%	No. 39: 0.6%
No. 26: 0.9%	No. 40: 0.2%
No. 33: 0.6%	No. 43: 0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3% of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7% --
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6% --
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4% --
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5% --

*511 423 A final question presents itself. How, when there is any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the [427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

[554] Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 [472] One of the family heads succeeded in starting a transportation business after having purchased two carts and a horse. [494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized [454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have [426]

/431 cont./

*511 not been able to take this income into account, but he is certainly erroneously placed in our list; this is No. 23. The 15,000 francs shown indeed correspond to his way of life, but he should certainly be higher.

Finally, many do not know where the money goes... and would be very surprised to learn that they should normally have a surplus at the end of each month. It is very probable [426] that they loan /432/ much of it, which is never returned to them and which they do not think of asking for; they are the ones who permit the system to remain in equilibrium.

*511 114 Many points have remained obscure in the course of this study, and many others require some explanation. We have strictly limited ourselves to a report of the verifications that we have made concerning the budgets of our families, not wishing to go still further and speak of the "standard of living." These are thus raw results which need to be worked over, put back in their framework, and illuminated in the light of their context: all the elements that make up African daily life.

But other studies of the same order are under way. One was recently made in Dakar itself; another will soon begin in Saint-Louis. By combining the results we will then be able to confirm certain of the tendencies shown and, finally, perhaps to draw some valid conclusions.

*511 The provisional conclusions would be: the apparent impossibility, or in any case the difficulty, of balancing a budget when the income is less than 15,000 francs, at least by changing the food habits (by consuming more millet, for example) and above all the social context. But on this last point the traditions are still the strongest. On the other hand, as we have just said, it is because of them that the system remains in equilibrium. [369] But from this struggle between two forces, the traditions of the rural life and the necessities of life in the city, there is the danger that disequilibrium will arise. In any case this is what often happens on the level of the familial groups that we studied.